

THE MILITANT

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Anticapitalist Vote Urged by Boutelle

[The following statement was issued by Paul Boutelle on the basis of a programmatic discussion by black members of the SWP.]

I am running for Attorney General against the Democrats and Republicans, as a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party believes that the capitalist system is responsible for the poverty and racism which bring misery to the black people of this country.

Capitalism wages war against the peoples of the world — like the racist war against the people of Vietnam.

There cannot be complete freedom, peace or real equality until the cancer of capitalism is removed and replaced with socialism.

The System

As Malcolm X put it, "It's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg . . . A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. It can't do it. It can only produce according to what the particular system was constructed to produce."

"The system of this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system, period. It's impossible for this system to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country. And if a chicken did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken."

Throughout the world, oppressed people are fighting for freedom. They are rejecting capitalism, which enslaves them, and are taking steps toward socialism. The Socialist Workers Party supports their struggles.

A Black Party

The capitalist system will not be abolished here in 1966, but a big step forward can be made right now if the movement for black power is organized into an independent black political party. I am going to do my best in this campaign to advance the idea of independent black political action.

Take, for example, the question of schools. It is the Democratic and Republican parties — the parties of white capitalist power — which rule this country and are responsible for maintaining inferior schools for black children — poorer education, segregated education.

If we had political power — control of our community and equal representation at all levels of government — we could use that power to fight to make sure black children get a first-class education. We could prepare them for this new technical age. And black children would learn the truth about the history of black people.

Black people form a large and compact part of the population in every major city throughout the country. The power potential of the black masses is enormous. Yet this potential is fragmented and unorganized. Black people must



Photo by Bill Wingell

Paul Boutelle

organize and control some political power in every neighborhood, every city where black people live and work.

When you have no power and no control over politics, you have no control over anything. Then you have to go around begging, trying to work on Uncle Sam's "conscience," sympathy, sense of fair play, or guilt feelings. And that "ain't nowhere."

The way to get our fair share of political power is to organize our own political party.

If we had our own political party, we could have a voice in the selection of police officials and have a real civilian review board representing us, with the power to do something about club-happy cops.

We could fight to get rid of

(Continued on Page 3)



BOMB ATTACK. Scene at Communist Party headquarters in New York after bomb ripped hole in basement room. Previously, there had been bomb and arson attacks on the building. New York's "finest" can't seem to cope with problem. Nor can federal authorities, so deeply concerned with combating "terrorism" in Vietnam. (See editorial page 4.)

Fort Hood 3 Reaffirm Opposition to War at Army Court-Martial

SEPT. 7 — As we go to press, it has been announced that Pvt. Dennis Mora was convicted by a court-martial at Fort Dix and sentenced to three years at hard labor, a dishonorable discharge, and forfeiture of pay.

By George Novack

FORT DIX, N. J., Sept. 6 — Standing before a 10-officer military court in the army base here today, Pvt. Dennis Mora pleaded "not guilty" in a ringing voice to charges of wilfully disobeying orders to go to Vietnam.

His trial is the first of the three courageous GIs who have refused to fight because they believe that the Vietnam war is illegal and they should not be obliged to violate international law by committing crimes against peace and humanity. The cases of the other two, Pfc. James A. Johnson and Pvt. David A. Samas, will be heard later in the week.

"The government is on trial today, not the soldiers," stated Stanley Faulkner, chief counsel for the three soldiers, before the hearing. He contended that the Vietnam war violates inter-



Pvt. Dennis Mora

the contrary, the matter of conscience is an individual responsibility."

In the preliminary morning session, the presiding law officer denied three defense motions. One was to suspend court-martial proceedings until the issues in the case were decided by the civilian courts, where a petition for an injunction is now before the federal appeals judges.

The second was a request that Secretary of State Rusk, Under Secretary of State Ball, Defense Secretary McNamara and other government officials be subpoenaed to testify on the conduct and legality of the war in Vietnam.

The third, submitted by military defense counsel working with attorney Faulkner, was a plea to hold the charges invalid because the defendants were indicted, not on the merits of the case, but as the result of a pre-conceived plan emanating from top Pentagon circles to make an example of the defendants.

If the defendants are convicted on the charge of violating Article 90 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they face a maximum sentence of

five years in jail, dishonorable discharge and total forfeiture of pay.

Attending the court-martial were Private Mora's sister, Mrs. Grace Mora Newman, and other members of his family. A delegation of supporters of the three soldiers, representing a wide range of antiwar groups, were present in the packed courtroom. They were headed by Yale Professor Staughton Lynd, co-chairman of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee.

Demonstrations

Demonstrations in support of the Fort Hood Three and distribution of the facts about their case to other GIs are scheduled this week in many cities across the country, including Chicago, Cleveland and Los Angeles.

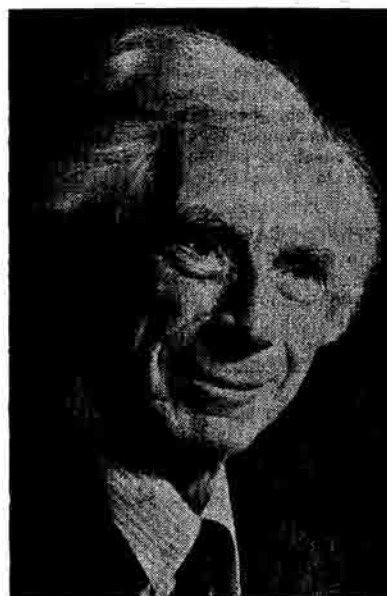
The presence of correspondents from all the major news media indicated wide public interest in the hearings. The soldiers at the camp here were also interested. Private Mora told reporters that many among the 500 other soldiers sharing the stockade where the three have been held under maximum security for eight weeks have signified sympathy for their stand.

Similar sentiments were voiced by one GI heard by this reporter discussing the trial with two others at the post bus terminal. "If they win this case, none of us will have to go to Vietnam," he said hopefully.

Bertrand Russell Backs Fort Hood 3

Bertrand Russell, world-famed philosopher, mathematician and militant antiwar fighter, sent a message of support and solidarity to the Fort Hood Three when their court-martial opened. In a telegram from his London home, Lord Russell declared:

"Justice Jackson said at Nuremberg, war crimes insupportable whether German or American. Three soldiers uphold the conscience of America by refusing to be party to war crimes and have the respect and ardent support of people throughout the world."



Bertrand Russell

8 Jailed in Los Angeles For Leafleting GIs on Fort Hood Three Case

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 6 — Eight young people were arrested here today as they began to distribute leaflets on the Fort Hood Three case to soldiers leaving the Union railroad station. Most of the soldiers being leafleted were Marines on their way to Camp Pendleton, near San Diego.

The arrests were made by Los Angeles police, who used anti-Semitic and abusive language against the leafleters. The leafleting was organized by the UCLA Vietnam Day Committee to coincide with the opening of the court-martial of Pvt. Dennis Mora at Fort Dix, N.J. They were released on \$110 bail each.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The High Cost of Living

"Last week I bought a certain brand of cottage cheese for 45 cents," a New York shopper told a reporter. "I came in the next day and it was 53 cents. Eight cents overnight is just too much. I asked who's getting this money and nobody seemed to know the answer."

Another shopper said of rising food costs, "At first I thought it was some new kind of tax, but they told me it was just higher prices."

In Media, Pa., a housewife complained, "My husband got a beautiful raise recently, and then the higher prices hit us like a ton of bricks. The higher prices and higher taxes made the raise meaningless. It was stupid, ridiculous."

Their comments reflect growing concern among the nation's consumers over runaway prices, especially for food. According to the federal government, food prices have gone up some six percent during the last year. That figure no doubt understates the real situation, because it is widely known that the government, when it doesn't lie, often tells less than the full truth.

Under pressure from mounting consumer complaints about the high cost of food, some city officials have asked the profiteering chain store moguls to set up special committees to do something about soaring prices. These worthies decline on the cynical pretext that, if they got together to lower food costs, they would be subject to federal charges of conspiring to fix prices.

Actually, the Johnson administration is too busy trying to freeze wages to pay much attention to the price gougers who are reaping record profits. A 1962 case, in which the Justice Department brought price-fixing and anti-trust charges against nine Baltimore milk companies, is still pending in the courts four years later. The Federal Commodity Exchange Authority has made no investigation of any commodity market since June, 1964.

Attempts by the food profiteers to blame working farmers for soaring prices don't stand the test of facts. But Secretary of Agriculture Freeman admits that, while prices paid by farmers for goods and services used in production and in family living are at a record high, the farmer gets less than 39 cents of the food dollar. Freeman adds that in many cases, retail food price rises have been two to three times the increase in farm prices.

In an effort to cover up the real reason for the spread between prices received by farmers and those paid by consumers, the food

profiteers try to hang the rap on the trade unions, accusing them of imposing "inflationary" wage demands in defiance of Johnson's guideposts. To expose that lie, it is necessary only to recall a report issued last August by Johnson's cabinet. The report concedes that, since 1960, hourly wage rates have gone up less than output per man-hour; average weekly earnings of better-paid workers went up only 25 percent; and, in the same period, stock dividends (from capitalist profits) increased 49 percent.

Despite the lying propaganda of the monopoly corporations and their servitors in government, it is an open secret that there is one central reason for the high cost of food — capitalist profiteering. The big combines conspire behind the consumers' backs to eliminate competition and set up a pattern of monopolistic price fixing. Their aim is to gouge robber profits from both workers and farmers, as well as from others in such categories as technicians and professional people.

To feed their insatiable lust for profits, the monopolists indulge in savage forms of class discrimination. Prices levied by the big food chains often tend to be lower in silk-stocking districts and higher in the slums. On top of that, the quality of products sold in low-income areas is usually greatly inferior to the food provided for well-to-do customers.

Under the pressure of rising prices, more and more workers are fighting for a cost-of-living escalator clause in union contracts in an effort to keep their earnings abreast of mounting living costs. This key demand in the trade union struggle against inflation should also be applied to social security benefits paid by the government. Runaway prices are hitting all consumers, but people living on fixed incomes, especially those living on social security benefits, are among those having the worst trouble. They, too, should have the help of a cost-of-living escalator, providing automatic increases in their income parallel with price rises.

Alongside the fight for automatic increases in wages and social security benefits to meet price hikes, mass action is needed to police prices. A pilot example has already been set by a Harlem neighborhood committee which has announced it "hopes to stir up a war in which the main casualties will be those businessmen who overcharge and defraud the poor consumer." Broad potential for support to such actions is reflected in the remark of a housewife in St. Claire Shores, Mich., who was asked by a reporter if she planned to initiate

a protest against high prices. "If someone does," she replied, "I would join in the demonstrations."

The trade unions should take the lead in forming mass consumer committees to check prices, expose profiteering and ferret out the conspirators behind it. One of the first results of such a campaign would be to lay down meaningful terms for escalator clauses to meet price rises. This would overcome the handicap of the government's Consumer Price Index which lags notoriously behind actual prices. (See editorial, page 4.)

Mass consumer committees, sparked by the unions, could launch buyers' strikes and conduct picket lines and demonstrations against the profiteers. By going to town on the price gougers in militant and effective fashion, the committees could begin to exercise a quite meaningful degree of control over the fixing of prices.

In the last analysis, action on the price front can have real meaning only if mass consumer committees press a demand that the food merchants open their books. A beginning can be made by requiring the retailers to submit their accounts to public scrutiny. That in turn will lead into an investigation of the books showing the profit-take of wholesalers, the big chains and the holding companies who sit on top of the food trusts.

A genuine investigation of this kind, conducted by mass consumer committees, will show that food, like all other commodities under capitalism, is produced not to satisfy the needs of the people, but solely for profit.

Boston SWP States Its Stand On Thomas Adams Campaign

BOSTON — Many antiwar groups and individuals in Massachusetts have declared their support for Thomas Boylston Adams, who is running in the Democratic Party primary for U.S. Senator. The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party has issued a statement explaining its opposition to Adams' campaign.

"Thomas Adams," the SWP said, "is running as a Democrat; that is, he seeks nomination by the party which controls the corrupt racist big city machines of the North, which maintains the brutal social system of the South, which is responsible for instituting the political witchhunt and which, at this very moment, is prosecuting in Vietnam the most destructive of all wars against a colonial people."

"In other words," the statement continued, "Adams is a member of the party which, along with the Republican Party, serves as the political expression of the ruling capitalist class in this country. This class seeks to preserve its rule at home and abroad, by war if necessary. It is for this reason we are opposed to all candidates of the two major parties and to 'independent' candidates who support the capitalist system."

Negotiations Stand

"Thomas Adams declares his sympathy for the suffering Vietnamese people and the justice of their cause. Yet, instead of calling for the immediate withdrawal of all American military forces from Vietnam, he urges a 'negotiated settlement' be imposed upon the Vietnamese. This hypocritical position could come only from a politician basically committed to the maintenance of American imperialist power in the Far East."

"Thomas Adams states that he is in political solidarity with Senator Robert Kennedy of New York. People with long memories will not forget that Kennedy was legal counsel for Senator Joseph McCarthy's notorious subcommittee. Nor will they forget Kennedy's disregard for constitutional guarantees when, as U.S. Attorney General, he went after Teamster Union head James Hoffa. Kennedy never saw fit to use his power as head of the Justice Department to acquire justice for the Negro people, North or South. Instead, he used his efforts to prosecute the Communist Party under the McCarran Act. Kennedy's present position on Vietnam is that the U.S. should maintain forces there through a system of coastal enclaves."

"It is naive to expect that representatives of the Democratic Party, such as Adams, can bring either peace to the world or social equality to this country. To support Democratic Party candidates, no matter how liberal their rhetoric, is to foster dangerous illusions among those in the U.S. who are desperately looking for answers. Already, a large section of the antiwar movement in Massachusetts is dissipating its energies in the Adams campaign."

"Those seriously interested in ending war, poverty and racism should be busy building a political movement based on minority peoples and organized labor, which is developing a growing disenchantment with the Democratic Party regime. What is needed is not a liberal or radical alternative within the Democratic Party, but an anti-capitalist alternative independent of and against all capitalist parties."

The Beatles Controversy

Interesting insights into some of the thinking of young people in this country have resulted from the controversy that erupted when John Lennon of the Beatles ventured the opinion that Christianity was on the wane and that his group was more popular than Jesus.

Jack Smith, a columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, invited teenagers to write letters expressing their views on the controversy. He anticipated a few dozen replies, but was flooded with more than 1,200 letters.

Most of them, he reported, expressed the view that Lennon had been quoted out of context, but that he had spoken the truth and that he was not boasting or blaspheming, but deploring the hypocrisy of our society. Even those who took issue with Lennon, he added, expressed outrage over the banning of Beatle music by some radio stations and the burning of Beatle records. Some said this proved Lennon's point.

The Aug. 27 *Times* published a page of these letters. The following are some excerpts.



"Do we think WHO is more popular than the Beatles?"
Cartoon by Wickes

"I...object to the people who are letting themselves be totally and emotionally carried off-balance by a single frank remark which does not represent the entire younger generation, or reflect a blasphemous atheist trying to overthrow religion."

"These interpretations are absurdly revealing in themselves. The Beatles are by no means typical of my generation; they are infinitely more fortunate than most of us, for they seem to know who they are and what they believe is important and valuable in life without concern for whether these feelings correspond with those of society or not."

"Everything John said was true, and that's why it caused such a riot. Those who blew a fuse over his remarks are just plain afraid and ashamed of the truth. Everybody tries to live with their eyes closed and they think nobody can see 'em."

"The rhythm that gave the Beatles their name is not the offending sound that displaces religion — it is the clang of cash registers, the whirl of machinery, the discharge of guns — and the death rattle of a society."

"The really funny part of this whole affair is that it's the adults who are offended by what Lennon said. It's our parents who are becoming all unscrewed and it's not because they think Lennon's wrong. They're all in a rage because they don't want to admit to themselves that he's right. Teenagers may not be more wise than the adult generation, but they're more honest. That's why many of us admit that his statement is true."

"We are looking on the writhings of a dying world. Many of the old-time virtues and values

are about ready to croak, as we search and experiment to find a set of values of our own..."

"We have been made cynics before our time by lies spoon-fed to us with our pabulum, and by the hypocrisy and corruption we've witnessed from many of our parents, leaders and idols; what we value most is the Beatles' kind of openness and their willingness to blow the whole bit for what THEY care about..."

"It seems to me that anything bright, shiny and brave that comes along, the whole world can't wait to foul up. The beautiful truths of Jesus have been no exception."

"Religion is something that should make living — and dying — a little easier for us poor mortals, but too many fine-feathered finks down through the ages have used it to enslave and make off with all the power and loot. We won't buy that kind of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant God any more."

Weekly Calendar

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Negro Unemployment Up As Job Market Expands

Unemployment among Negroes has climbed considerably this summer, in spite of a general decrease in unemployment, according to the Labor Department. The government's figures put Negro unemployment at 8.2 percent for August, compared with 7.1 percent for January through April. Overall unemployment was 3.4 percent among whites for August.

In the 100 largest cities, Negro unemployment was even higher. In March, for example, it was 9.4 percent. And that month, Negro teenage men had suffered an unemployment rate of 31 percent, and Negro teenage women 46 percent. These figures do not include hundreds of thousands of youths who have given up looking for work — the government doesn't count them as unemployed.

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...Paul Boutelle's Stand

(Continued from Page 1)
taxes on incomes \$7,500 and under, and sales taxes which hit the poor hardest.

We could fight for equal rent for equal housing; for enforcement of housing codes; for the construction of low-rent public housing for people now in slums.

To combat unemployment, which hits black people the hardest, a black political party could fight for a shorter work week, with no loss in pay, to spread the work; for a massive construction program of housing, parks, playgrounds and day nurseries; for a \$3 minimum wage; for unemployment insurance at full union wages for everyone 18 and over, regardless of whether they have

worked before or not; for an end to discrimination by either employers or unions.

With our own political party, we could fight to stop the criminal wasting of lives of black youth in Vietnam. Uncle Sam's war of aggression in Vietnam is a war to impose U.S. white power — white imperialist power — on the Vietnamese.

We could fight effectively for these and other demands to combat racism and poverty if we had our own political party.

There is no such thing as winning black political power through the Democratic or Republican parties. Negro Democrats and Republicans have been elected, and black people are still powerless.

Any Negro who runs for the Democrats or Republicans is a pawn of those parties. He is powerless to do anything that gets to the heart of the problems of the people in the ghettos.

Take, for example, your boss and you. He tells you what to do, right? When you refuse to do what that boss tells you to do, he replaces you. The same thing is true for that Negro who runs for the Democrats and Republicans. His job is to keep Negroes in line for his white capitalist bosses. That's his job, no matter how militant he sounds, even if he claims to support "black power."

The Democrats and Republicans have ruled this country for 100 years. They are responsible for the conditions which exist. We have to break with them. Black people need their own party.

The Black Panther Party

The black workers and farmers in Lowndes County, Alabama, have organized their own party — the Black Panther Party. They are running their own candidates against the Democrats and Republicans, and plan to take over their county.

We need that kind of party here, and everywhere you see us. That's the only way to get real black power.

Organizing our own party is the responsibility of those organizations and individuals who really are for black power. With our own party, with our own leaders elected by the black people, we could begin to win black power, and begin to change the conditions black people are forced to live under. And, we would be an example for all oppressed and working people to break with the parties of the white capitalist rulers.

The formation of an independent black political party will be a step toward the complete destruction of the power of the white capitalist rulers and toward a new society — a society of freedom, justice and equality — socialism.

N.J. Socialist Runs For U.S. Congress

NEWARK — Joseph Carroll, an active member of the Greater Newark Council to End the War in Vietnam, has been nominated by the Socialist Workers Party as its candidate in the 11th congressional district of New Jersey.

Carroll's campaign will center on the following demands:

An end to the illegal, immoral and inhuman war in Vietnam through immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Let the Vietnamese people determine their own fate.

An end to discrimination and segregation. Full enforcement of federal, state and local anti-discrimination laws. Support to the rising demand for black political power. For an independent black political party.

Economic security for all from the cradle to the grave. No tax on incomes under \$7,500 and a 100 percent tax on income over \$25,000. Unemployment insurance for the full period of unemployment at union wages for everyone 18 and over, regardless of whether they have worked before or not.

Stop spending for war. Use the \$65 billion war budget for schools, housing, hospitals, medical research, etc.

Build a labor party to fight for the rights of the working people against the big business controlled Democrats and Republicans.

Nationalize the giant corporations and banks and place the economy under the control of democratically-elected committees of workers and farmers, to produce for the people's needs and not for profit.

A Committee of Independents for the Election of Joseph Carroll has been formed, whose office is at 336 Elizabeth St., Orange, N.J.

INTELLECTUALS ISSUE OPEN LETTER

Cubans Score Pablo Neruda

By Harry Ring

A group of 98 Cuban intellectuals addressed an open letter to the world-famed Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, charging that he had permitted U.S. propagandists to exploit his presence at the recent international gathering in New York of the PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) Club.

Neruda is a member of the Communist Party of Chile and a long-time supporter of Kremlin policy. The Cuban open letter charges he helped bolster the false notion that "peaceful coexistence" is in the process of being achieved in the world. The Cubans also scored Neruda for accepting a decoration from the reactionary Peruvian government.

Signers of the letter include such prominent Cubans as Nicolás Guillén, Alejo Carpentier, Juan Marinello and Alfredo Guevara.

An English translation of the open letter appeared in the Aug. 7 issue of *Granma*, publication of the new, united Communist Party of Cuba. The Aug. 14 issue carried a reply by Neruda and a rebuttal by the authors of the original letter. A number of additional intellectuals associated themselves with the rebuttal.

The Cubans emphasized that they do not condemn participation in the PEN conference, or visiting the United States, as a matter of automatic principle. They recognize that an opponent of U.S. imperialism could make a positive contribution by such a visit. But, they assert, they believe that in the particular situation, Neruda's visit to the U.S. "was intended to be used and, in fact, has been used in furtherance of U.S. policy."

The letter states that some people say that the very fact that the U.S. issued an entrance visa to Neruda after denying him one for 20 years is a sign that the cold war is coming to an end. But, the Cubans replied, "at what other time in the years since the war in Korea has a socialist country been subjected to the systematic physical aggression that Vietnam is suffering today? Can any evidence of our entry into a period of universal harmony be found in the recent coups d'état organized with the participation of the United States in Indonesia, Ghana, Nigeria, Brazil and Argentina? No honest person can hold such an opinion."

The Cubans argue that the U.S. permitted leftists to come to the conference because "it expects to derive some benefit from their presence; for example, creation of the belief that world tension has relaxed; diversion of attention from crimes the U.S. is committing on the three underdeveloped continents . . . and, above all, neutralization of the growing opposition to U.S. policy among students and intellectuals, not only in Latin America, but in the United States itself."



Pablo Neruda

ting on the three underdeveloped continents . . . and, above all, neutralization of the growing opposition to U.S. policy among students and intellectuals, not only in Latin America, but in the United States itself."

To buttress its charge that this is how the U.S. used the conference, the Cuban letter cites an article in *LIFE en español* (*LIFE in Spanish*) written, suprisingly, by the Mexican author Carlos Fuentes. (Fuentes was barred from the U.S. last year because of his criticisms of U.S. policy.) Fuentes' article in *LIFE* was entitled, "The PEN: Burial of the Cold War in Literature." For Fuentes, a dramatic proof of the "burial" was the presence of Neruda.

"It is unthinkable for us," the Cuban intellectuals declare, "to entone the praises of a supposed peaceful coexistence or sing of the end of the cold war in any field" at a time when the U.S. is carrying on savage aggression against the revolutionary people and oppressed of the world.

"Clearly, Pablo," they add, "the ones who have profited from your most recent activities are neither the revolutionaries of Latin America nor, for example, the Negroes of the United States."

The open letter offers a cogent explanation of the motivation behind the U.S. attitude toward the PEN Congress:

"After the Cuban Revolution, the United States understands that it is not dealing with a continent of 'Latins' or sub-humans, but a continent which is demanding its rightful place in the world, and demanding it violently and now, just as are its own Negroes, the Negroes of the USA. After the

Cuban Revolution, the United States, in the same way that it 'discovered' that our continent needs agrarian reform, is also 'discovering' that we have a real literature.

"The most recent step in this process of discovery has been to propose the purchase (or at least the neutralization) of our intellectuals, so that our people are again left without a voice. And it is no longer a matter of using discredited personages . . . The U.S. imperialists have used up the conservative-liberals, the reactionaries, their first crop of agents. Now they must speak in terms of 'the left' with men of 'the left,' since otherwise, they would have no audience outside the most reactionary circles . . ."

"Our mission, Pablo," they declare, "cannot be, under any circumstances, to lend ourselves to playing their game, but to expose them and to attack them."

Turning to Neruda's acceptance of a decoration from the Peruvian government and his "cordial luncheon" with Peruvian President Belaúnde, the Cubans state that though some might argue the U.S. visit might possibly have come out differently, there can be no possible justification for the acceptance of the decoration.

Pointing to the revolutionaries exiled, imprisoned and killed by the Peruvian government, the Cubans ask Neruda how he would have felt, if during the period of his exile from Chile, another Latin American writer or political figure had accepted a decoration from the Chilean dictator of the time.

Arguing against the notion that Neruda's action would improve relations between Chile and Peru, the open letter blasts the "liberal" regime of Chilean President Eduardo Frei.

Strengthened Imperialism

The open letter states: "Frei has been chosen by the Yankees as the leader of its reformism (they even permit him to have relations with the USSR), in the same way that the 'gorillas' of Brazil, and lately of Argentina as well, are their leaders of military governments. But one and the other, using different methods, share the same objective: to halt or crush the liberation struggle. These actions of yours have not strengthened the bonds between Peru and Chile, but between Belaúnde and Frei: Yankee imperialism."

In reply, Neruda stated he was deeply puzzled by the "groundless" Cuban charges relating to the PEN Congress and expressed the assumption that their estimate of his role was based on distorted reports of his statements in the U.S. press. He suggested that they should rather give greater weight "to the opinions of U.S. Communists" who apparently viewed his visit as a big success. He did not refer to the issue of his acceptance of the Peruvian decoration.

He added that he was deeply disturbed that the Cubans had expressed their views in an open letter and said they should place greater stress on "mutual responsibility and the maintenance and development of the necessary anti-imperialist continental unity between writers and all revolutionary forces."

In a brief rebuttal, the Cubans stated that they had not even taken U.S. reports into account in arriving at their estimate. "Rather," they said, "we limited ourselves to concrete facts: your relations with Belaúnde and the benefit the imperialists derived from your trip."

They added that unity, "more significant than any single individual," expresses itself "in our peoples' struggle for liberation" and "in the cohesion between principles and action."

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

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Phila. Rally Hears Carmichael

By Joel Aber and Dan Stewart

PHILADELPHIA — Two thousand people crowded into the Church of the Advocate here on Aug. 30 to hear speeches by Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of SNCC, and various local Afro-American leaders.

Carmichael appeared, despite bitter hostility and threats from the city administration. A month ago, in a radio interview, Mayor James Tate said Carmichael should be banned from all Northern cities. According to James Forman, SNCC executive director and temporary head of Philadelphia SNCC, the police have been telephoning SNCC offices around the country asking for Carmichael. They had threatened to arrest him if he set foot in Philadelphia.

But their threats backfired — this was the largest freedom rally here in the last few years.

After entertainment by a group of drummers, the rally was moved

to the street because of crowding. The SNCC chairman discussed the need for self-defense, developing an Afro-American culture and condemned the U.S. presence in Vietnam.

"We aren't out to kill Whitey," he said. "We just want him to get the hell off our backs . . . The man has got us fighting with each other. But the time for gang warfare with each other is over. We have to develop nonviolence and love within our community, and when we develop nonviolence within our community, that's where it ends."

Carmichael opposed participation by black people in the Vietnam war. "We need our black brothers here," he said.

He compared Afro-Americans in this country to colonial subjects, victims of imperialism like the people of Vietnam or the Congo. As colonial subjects, he said, "we are going to have to hook up with

non-white people all over the world. The people of Vietnam are trying to get rid of the man and we should help them in that task . . ."

Minister Jeremiah X of the Philadelphia Muslim Mosque No. 12 spoke briefly on the need for black unity.

The meeting was dedicated to Fred Meely, Morris Ruffin and Charles Anderson, three former SNCC staff members in Philadelphia, now being sought under a 13-state alert. Their case is connected with the "dynamite case" frame-up of SNCC workers here.

Of the six persons originally arrested in the frame-up, the three who did not sign statements were released after the D.A. admitted lack of evidence. The three others, who signed statements on the advice of lawyer and NAACP head Cecil Moore, were held on \$50,000 bail, which has been subsequently reduced.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 30 - No. 32



Monday, September 12, 1966

New Anti-Communist Bombing

The Sept. 4 bombing of the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York should be a matter of grave concern to everyone who stands for freedom in this country.

The bomb, which exploded in the middle of the night, wrecked the office of *The Worker*, which will be compelled to skip at least an issue. Typewriters and other office equipment were smashed. Several air-conditioners, installed the previous day, were damaged. Windows were blown out in the headquarters and other buildings on the block. A near-by cathedral was damaged. Fortunately, the area was deserted at the time of the blast.

The explosion was the second of its kind in four months. In addition, a fire was set in front of the building two years ago. Shortly after the fire, a *Worker* staff member received a package in the mail containing a highly lethal bomb which, luckily, was discovered before being opened.

There has not been a single arrest in any of these cases. James Jackson, publisher of *The Worker*, correctly points to the fact that the FBI has the headquarters under "every known form of surveillance" at all hours and should therefore have information as to who planted the bomb. "We have nothing to say about the surveillance charge," an FBI spokesman said. He said the FBI knew nothing about who committed the bombing, but would be glad to help the local cops find the person.

Despite its enormous resources and loudly trumpeted crime detection prowess, the FBI has proven singularly ineffective in apprehending right-wing and racist bombers.

Rigged Gov't Price Index

Increasing numbers of unionists are recognizing the urgent need for wage-escalator clauses in union contracts. Without such clauses to provide for wage increases in compensation for price increases, real wages will decline sharply.

But, also, it is being recognized that there are serious flaws in the escalator clauses now being included in union pacts. The biggest defect is that virtually all of them use as their official guide the Consumer Price Index of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

It has become increasingly apparent over the years that the BLS figures are rigged to minimize actual increases in living costs.

While they generally can't prove it with facts and figures, most people simply know that the cost of living has gone up more than the Bureau says it has.

Now, some information has become available showing some of the defects in the Consumer Price Index. A Joint Economic Committee of Congress released a report of hearings it held last May at which various government and university specialists testified. These are some of the principal facts that emerged from the testimony:

- Only 52 industries are surveyed. An expert said at least 115 should be surveyed to make it at all representative.
- Wholesale prices are gathered from sellers, rather than buyers, and the sellers tend to conceal deviations from price lists.
- The index does not take into account the widespread practice of lowering quality standards as a means of raising prices.
- The survey of retail-sales costs does not cover all consumers, as generally assumed. Actually, it is based on archaic estimates of what a defense worker in 1917-18 might feel he needed.

The deficiencies clearly do not flow from a lack of resources on the part of the government or a lack of understanding as to what a reliable index should be. They are purposefully intended to rig the figures to the benefit of the employers.

If workers are to be effectively protected, they should have escalator clauses based on the findings of those who have an interest in establishing accurate figures. This could be done by democratically-established consumer committees. (See National Picket Line, page 2.)

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and Bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204 WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 3-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway. 982-8051.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, LA 2-4326.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF PICASSO by John Berger. Penguin Books. 210 pp. with 120 illustrations. \$2.25, paper.

Pablo Picasso is the best-known and most influential painter of the 20th century. He is almost as controversial to bourgeois art critics because of his communist politics as he is for the wide-ranging impact he has had on the art of our time.

A full appreciation of Picasso's development as an artist cannot be achieved without discussing Picasso's interaction with the artistic movements and social environment of his times. In *The Success and Failure of Picasso*, John Berger, a British artist and art critic, has provided us with an outstanding Marxist analysis of Picasso's life and Picasso's epoch.

The French resistance movement of World War II was what led Picasso to join the Communist Party. The Stalinist cultural policy was bent by some to accommodate Picasso and upheld by others to denounce him. Picasso had, by this time, the need for an orientation for his art, according to Berger. He did not know what to paint. The Stalinists, both those who praised him and those who denounced him, were unable to give him that needed aid because of the sterility of their rigid and dogmatic conceptions about art.

"It was as though Picasso could do no wrong, because whatever he did was never examined. Because he was the most famous artist in the world and a communist, he was exempt. Exemption is very like exile. One faction called this exemption 'decadence'; the other 'eternal hope.' As we have seen, Picasso needed subjects. Yet what the communist movement offered him back was only the exhausted subject of himself."

STALIN edited by T. H. Rigby. Prentice-Hall. 182 pp. \$1.95, paper.

T. H. Rigby is attempting in this volume to get at what Stalin was like as an individual and how this affected his mode of operation politically. He deliberately de-emphasizes, in the selection of his materials for this anthology, evaluations of a more thoroughgoing political nature.

Nevertheless, this is a political book, viewed as a whole. Stalin was too much shaped by events rather than being a shaper of events for this to be otherwise. In Trotsky's words, "Stalin took possession of power, not with the aid of personal qualities, but with the aid of an impersonal machine. And it was not he who created the machine, but the machine that created him."

Rigby's book contains valuable selections from Lenin, Trotsky, Deutscher and others. There are important selections of lesser value by E. H. Carr, N. N. Sukhanov, Boris Souvarine and Milovan Djilas. Of much more dubious value are the selections contributed by Robert H. McNeal and Robert C. Tucker.

WILHELM REICH ON MARX AND FREUD, Studies on the Left, July-August, 1966.

Most Americans who have heard the name of Wilhelm Reich either confuse him with fellow psychotherapist Theodore Reik or simply know of him as the leader of the "orgone box" cult. But before he developed the obsession that led to the tragic business of the orgone box, he was a towering figure in the world of Freudian psychoanalysis.

In his prime, Reich was both a Freudian and a Marxist. In the first of these two outstanding essays — both written in 1929 — Reich gives his view of the relation between the discoveries of Marx and the discoveries of Freud. In the second essay, Reich writes about the status of psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union of 1929.

In the first essay, "Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis," Reich concludes:

"Because psychoanalysis, unless it is watered down, undermines bourgeois ideology, and because, furthermore, only a socialist economy can provide a basis for the free development of intellect and sexuality alike, psychoanalysis has a future only under socialism."

A copy of the July-August *Studies on the Left* may be obtained for \$1 by writing to: *Studies on the Left*, 260 West Broadway, Room 202, New York, N. Y. 10013. One-year subscriptions cost \$5.

THE MANDARINS AND THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK: The Psychology and Politics of Despair by Mary Jacquelyn Madsen. *Liberation USA*, issue No. 2, 1966.

This penetrating article deals with the special form of dehumanizing oppression women are subjected to in capitalist society by the subservient role they are forced to play. We are shown how this type of oppression is fostered by and serves the interests of the status quo.

A discussion of *The Mandarins* by Simone de Beauvoir and *The Golden Notebook* by Doris Lessing serves the author as a take-off point for an analysis of the emotional relationships between men and women that prevail in our society. Near the end of her article, Mary Jacquelyn Madsen writes:

"It seems clear that under socialism, when man is freed from the necessity of labor and when all women can be freed from individual responsibility for child rearing, the economic bases for the oppression of women will have disappeared. Then the task of psychological liberation can begin in earnest. Creating socialist man is integral to the creation of free woman."

"Thus participation in a revolutionary movement is the only means for women to guarantee their liberation."

A single issue of *Liberation USA* may be obtained for 10c., a 12-issue subscription costs \$3. Write to: *Liberation USA*, 5 St. Marks Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003.

—Arthur Maglin

HOME: SOCIAL ESSAYS by LeRoi Jones. Morrow, 1966, 252 pp., \$4.

This collection of articles by LeRoi Jones is arranged chronologically, from 1960 to 1965, to convey the movement and direction of his thinking.

The first article is about the artist's trip to Cuba in 1960, the last (except for a brief "State/Meant") about the legacy of Malcolm X.

It is a trip from an incipient and mild kind of radicalism, when Jones expected or hoped that American society could be reformed or revolutionized, to a stage of black separatism, where he has given up on America, has virtually ceased to address himself to white people, and is calling on black people to organize their own nation.

That makes it an important book, because Jones is expressing

ideas and feelings that are shared, to some degree certainly, and to a high degree perhaps, by many other black people who are not artists, poets or playwrights.

Most of the liberal intellectuals who used to praise Jones' talents now attack him as a fanatic and racist and try to dismiss him as a man who has lost touch with reality.

Genuine radicals should not let themselves be influenced by these attacks; when they read what Jones writes, they will discover that they are in agreement with at least 95 percent of what he is saying about the social and moral aspects of American capitalism.

Jones has certain weaknesses as an essayist — an over-use of shock to achieve his effects, a slight tendency lately toward the mystical — but on the other hand few contemporaries can match his first-rate mind, blunt honesty, fearlessness and literary skill.

James Baldwin gave expression to the mood that developed in the early 1960's — the time of the marches, parades and picket lines which marked the end of one epoch of race relations and the start of another.

LeRoi Jones is more representative of the spirit of the mid-60's — the ghetto uprisings that are mislabeled "riots," a loss of interest in appealing to white consciences, a concentration on the strengthening of "black consciousness" in preparation for uncompromising war.

It would be sad if, because of liberal hostility and misrepresentation, and Jones' occasional overstatements, his essays should go unread by radicals, because no one in this country today is writing about more serious and challenging questions.

—George Breitman

Students at U of Mich. Rap Administration for Cooperation with HUAC

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Three hundred students joined a rally here on Sept. 2 to protest the recent HUAC hearings and the action by the University of Michigan administration in submitting membership lists of three student organizations to HUAC. The witch-hunting committee had subpoenaed the lists from the university.

Speakers at the rally were Stan Nadel and Professor Julian Gendell, both of whose names were turned over to the committee, and Michael Zweig of the economics department, who told of a discussion with Democratic Congressman Weston Vivian of Michigan, who refused to take a public stand against the hearings.

The rally was peaceful and orderly despite harassment by Ann Arbor police in plain clothes, who wandered about taking pictures of the participants.

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Sartre Magazine Speaks Out on Vietnam

USSR Urged to Stand Up to U.S.

By F. Charlier

An important discussion is taking place within the French Left. The Left is troubled by the absence of any decisive response by the workers' states in the face of the increasingly massive American aggression against the people of south Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The editorial board of the French magazine *Temps Modernes*, founded by Jean-Paul Sartre, published an editorial in its August issue after the beginning of the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. This editorial has provoked protests from opportunist and bureaucratic tendencies in the French working-class movement and has been denounced by the Communist Party paper *L'Humanité*, as an irresponsible provocation.

Actually the editorial, entitled "Capitulation or Counter-Escalation," expresses an extremely high degree of awareness of the character of the present international situation and the solutions imposed by it.

The Aims of Imperialism

Here is how *Temps Modernes* describes the objectives of imperialism.

"The United States is deliberately taking the risk of a world war because, in view of the internal division in the socialist camp, they consider this risk to be very small. Their aim, which

goes far beyond Vietnam, is to demonstrate:

"1. That imperialism has enough forces to crush, *there or anywhere else*, a victorious revolutionary movement, whether or not it is armed;

"2. That every socialist state that tries to prevent this repression will itself be pitilessly annihilated, even if the revolution that it seeks to aid has broken out in the other half of the same nation;

"3. That despite the solemn mutual defense treaties which bind this state to the rest of the socialist world, it will be abandoned by them, so formidable is the warlike determination and the strategic superiority of the United States;

"4. That, consequently, every attempt, armed or peaceful, which tends to change the social and international relations imposed by American imperialism, is a hopeless undertaking anywhere in the world for a long time to come."

The position of the Kremlin and the French CP is judged harshly by *Temps Modernes*, which speaks of "the nullity of international strategy to which opportunism leads." Without naming it, the editorial board especially castigates the opportunism of the French CP toward De Gaulle: "De Gaulle actually does nothing to aid the struggle of the Vietnamese people; he is using both that struggle and the American gliding to-

ward a war against China to restore to European imperialism a part of its lost independence."

The editorial compares the present situation with the period preceding the signing of agreements at Munich in 1938 between Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain:

"The United States is convinced that the Soviet Union will retreat to the very end . . . It thinks it can coerce China either to lose face by remaining passive before the annihilation and occupation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or to provide them with the pretext, by its reaction, to destroy its nuclear centers and, if that is not enough, to transform the Chinese cities into immense charnel houses. They calculate that the USSR will watch the humiliation or massacre of the Chinese without acting. They calculate that it will be glad to grasp the bloody hand of America and sign a new global Munich pact with her."

Since there is no other alternative strategy, *Temps Modernes* concludes that it is necessary to set a limit beyond which one would return blow for blow. "To deliberately assume the risk of war today is the surest way to avoid the choice tomorrow between the reality of an imposed war and the destruction, one after the other, of the revolutionary states and movements of Asia and elsewhere."

The "official" French Left has received this editorial in a far from favorable manner. *Nouvel Observateur*, a weekly edited by individuals in the right wing of the Unified Socialist Party, characterized the thesis of *Temps Modernes* as an "implacable conclusion" and distorted the reasoning of the editorial to such an extent that its authors felt obliged to send a letter of correction.

For Jean Daniel, writer of the *Nouvel Observateur* article, "the editorial writer should logically have concluded his article by calling for hostile demonstrations, not before Washington's embassies in various countries, but in front of the Soviet embassies." He argued that the thesis of *Temps Modernes* had a "paralyzing" effect because it shifted responsibility onto the Soviet Union. In reality, Daniel opined, "problems are no longer posed as they were in Marx's or even in Trotsky's day." It is necessary to act while keeping two things in mind: "to save the revolutionary idea" at the same time as avoiding "the involvement . . . which leads to total war."

CP Reply

The reply of *L'Humanité*, the CP daily, on Aug. 19 was more brutal, although it adhered to the same line of thought (the *Temps Modernes* editorial had met with favorable echoes in the cells of the CP intellectuals). The editor of *L'Humanité* dipped his ink in the Stalinist vitriol of Jean Kanapa, the leader of the CP intellectuals who assailed the Existentialists in the time of Stalin-Zhdanov, for the very same style is employed. It was entitled: "When the armchair strategists of Saint-Germain-des-Prés brandish nuclear weapons."

The proposals of *Temps Modernes* are called "irresponsible provocations" and their authors were invited by the CP to "take into consideration" a series of points. The most important (apart from affirmations that the Soviet Union is supplying Vietnam with all the necessary aid) is the following: "What is involved in Vietnam is, on the one hand, to prevent a victory for the Americans [*L'Humanité* refrains from saying that it is a matter of assuring victory for the National Liberation Front] which would award a premium for aggression in the world, and to compel them to withdraw from the country; on



SHOT DOWN. Wreckage of U.S. plane shot down over north Vietnam. U.S. has carried through massive escalation of bombing. Six months ago, it was carrying on about 1,000 multi-plane bombing missions a month over north Vietnam. For August, it is estimated the number will be 4,000.

the other hand, it is necessary to avoid a thermonuclear world war which would cost humanity hundreds of millions of dead." These two objectives, to prevent an American victory and a world war, are presented as two poles of a contradiction.

L'Humanité continues along this line by saying "it is in the margin left between these extreme points [to prevent an American victory is then an 'extreme point' for the French CP!] that Vietnam, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries make their reply."

Any other tactic, such as that of *Temps Modernes*, would mean the launching of a world war, *L'Humanité* concludes.

The reply that *Temps Modernes* sent to *Nouvel Observateur* is a very good answer both to that publication and to *L'Humanité*, although it had already been written when the violent missive of the latter appeared. Defending the thesis for a more combative attitude by the Soviet Union, the author writes: "America cannot disregard a Soviet ultimatum; she cannot wield reprisals against the USSR; or else she would deliberately choose world war."

"You reply that this is precisely what you are afraid of. You fear that the United States would take no notice. You believe in 'American madness,' while we believe, with good reasons, that the policy of imperialism, in all its horror, is perfectly rational."

Describing the reasoning of those who justify their opportunism by seeing in aid to Vietnam and in the avoidance of atomic war two contrary preoccupations, *Temps Modernes* indicates that in its opinion, this argument is based on the false and demagogic (but very widespread) thesis that the American ruling class is led by "madmen" rather than by a leadership which has the best instruments of analysis ever possessed by a bourgeoisie.

Anticipating the next steps of escalation such as bombing the dikes of the Red River, invading north Vietnam (a threat which has since been confirmed by the disclosures in *Newsweek*), bombing China, *Temps Modernes* reaffirms its proposed strategy: "Which is more to be feared? That the Soviet Union presents this formal warning to the United States? Or that it delays until the moment when imperialism, in order to crush the revolutionary movement in Asia and elsewhere, will have exterminated the Vietnamese people, mutilated its great socialist neighbor, and left the Soviet Union the sole choice be-

tween the humiliation of a new division of the world and a reply which, coming too late, risks precipitating a general war?"

It concludes with an appeal to *Nouvel Observateur*: "Should not our role therefore be to assure the socialist camp that its warning of counter-escalation would be hailed with approval, with relief and hope by our peoples, because journals like yours would have prepared them to call for such a desired Soviet response and consider it legitimate and necessary? Is it not a suitable action for us to show untiringly, before any Soviet ultimatum, that Kosygin has more right to affirm 'I am a citizen of Hanoi' than Kennedy ever had to proclaim 'I am a Berliner'?"

In their editorial and the important elaboration published in *Nouvel Observateur*, the *Temps Modernes* editors present a line of analysis which has been advanced up to now only by the world Trotskyist movement, and in certain speeches by Fidel Castro. We made this analysis as far back as August, 1964, when imperialism organized its first trial attack against north Vietnam.

Today, escalation has reached a level few people imagined at that time: an average of 3,000 piratical flights a month. This steep rise is not solely due to the absence of an adequate Soviet reaction; it is also due to the absence of a common front of the workers states and to the sectarianism of the Chinese Communist leaders. By agreeing to a united front and a conference on aid to Vietnam, the Chinese leaders would have been able, had they wished, to show concretely, and not in generalities, how the Soviet Union refuses to give Vietnam the aid it needs. They could also give more weight, thanks to their support, to the demands for aid on the part of Hanoi and the National Liberation Front.

It is never too late for such a united front of the workers' states.

Japan Communist Party Urges Sino-Soviet Unity

The Japanese Communist Party has issued a call for "joint action" and "organized counter-attacks" from the "socialist camp" against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. According to Harry Schwartz in the Sept. 5 New York Times, the Japanese CP criticized both the Soviet Union and China for their failure to effectively aid the Vietnamese.

Prominent Pro-Cuban Leftist Imprisoned by Mexican Gov't

(World Outlook) — The Mexican government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz is continuing to show its inclination to test out McCarthyite methods as a means of answering unrest over inflation and other economic, social and political problems facing the Mexican people.

Having gotten away with arresting Adolfo Gilly and a number of followers of J. Posadas (see *The Militant* May 9 and May 16), the political police have now moved against a better-known target — Victor Rico Galán and Raúl Ugalde Alvarez and their supporters.

Victor Rico Galán is a prominent leftist Mexican writer, well-known for his sympathetic defense of the Cuban Revolution.

In true witchhunt style, as has become their custom, the Mexican political police staged a series of raids, rounded up a number of suspects, submitted them to intensive questioning, most likely not without the use of torture, and then issued a statement to the press (Aug. 12) virtually trying and condemning the prisoners without permitting them a single word in self-defense.

According to the police, the defendants held "meetings" in which they "planned the organization of tactics and activities clearly subversive and against the internal security of the nation." As proof, the police submitted photographs of arms they claimed to have seized in the homes of those arrested.

These included "three radio transmitters; a home-made time bomb, possibly charged with nitroglycerine; nine rifles; three pistols; some cartridges of various calibers and mechanisms to be converted into pistols." Obviously, this was sufficient armament to give the fragile Díaz Ordaz government a bad case of the jitters!

The police announced that 33 persons had been picked up in the first raid. In a second raid, 17 more were added to the list.

Among them was Moisés Lozana Villafañá, a student at the

National School of Political Sciences. The police said he admitted belonging to the Liga Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Workers League), but denied belonging to the group headed by Victor Rico Galán. The LOM constitutes the Mexican Section of the Fourth International.

According to the police, the "Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo" headed by Rico Galán "plotted" a subversive action against the government, scheduling it to begin on Sept. 1. The police did not enlarge on how the "plotters" expected to take over with their limited radio apparatus, nine rifles, three pistols and one home-made time bomb. Instead, the police praised themselves on their timely action in breaking up the "plot."

This was enough, of course, for screaming headlines in the Mexican capitalist press. The defendants were barred from making any statements and were denied the opportunity to be questioned by reporters. To make up for this, the police issued statements claiming to be admissions made by the defendants under interrogation. The Mexican press, a very model of cooperativeness with the police in dispensing capitalist justice, faithfully printed these police documents.

Even from this material it is clear that the main crime of the defendants was to hold meetings in which social and political subjects were discussed and in which the "idea" of guerrillas was advanced.

Among the proofs was a carbon copy of an "essay" on guerrilla warfare, and the assertion that Rico Galán "authorized" the purchase "from a bookstore" of a manual on explosives and demolition in which he marked several pages. It was also claimed that he bought a book on marksmanship and invited his group to engage in target practice.

Study of two "subversive" books was cited: Che Guevara's manual on guerrilla warfare and Mao Tse-tung's writings on the use of guerrilla warfare in fighting the Japanese occupation of China.

It's Not What You Own, It's How Much

By Dick Roberts

In the Sept. 5 *Militant*, we began a discussion of the question of who owns and who controls the major corporations in this country. It was pointed out that a large number of people — over 20 million — own stocks and bonds in various corporations, but that the vast majority of them own only a small number of shares.

Those who actually have controlling interests in the corporations, on the other hand, have thousands and thousands of shares. So it is not the question of whether you own stocks or not that is decisive, but how much you own. It was also indicated that although the vast majority of stock owners — 82 percent — have incomes below \$15,000 — most of the income from stocks and bonds was received by people with incomes higher than \$15,000. The 18 percent of the stockholders (about two percent of the population) in the upper income brackets received roughly 57 percent of the dividend and interest income.

Professor Irwin Friend of the University of Pennsylvania conducted a study of stock ownership based on the 1960 income tax returns, the results of which have been filed with the New York Public Library. Professor Friend measured the market values of total stockholdings rather than the dividends received from stocks and came to similar conclusions.

According to his study, people with incomes below \$15,000 owned only 37.7 percent of the total value of all shares; those with incomes between \$15,000 and \$25,000 owned 14 percent; and those with incomes above \$25,000 owned the remaining 48.3 percent.

But taxpayers in the third category amounted to only one percent of all taxpayers, according to Friend's findings. In other words, in 1960, one percent of the taxpayers in the country owned 48.3 percent of the stock value.

The extremely small size of the number of those who actually own controlling interests in capitalist enterprises, however, is not the

end of the story of the centralization of power in the hands of a few individuals. There is another tendency which must be noted. This is that the top corporations, with the largest assets, are absorbing more and more of the total assets of all U.S. corporations.

In other words, the big are simply getting bigger, and with that process, the "less than 500" are extending their domains in another way, besides direct purchase into additional corporations. Attention was recently drawn to this process by Congressman Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee.

On June 7, Patman presented the House a table of the concentration of assets and profits of manufacturing corporations for the first quarter of 1965, drawn from the SEC Quarterly Financial Report. (*Congressional Record*, p. 11917.)

According to Patman's table, the top 41 U.S. manufacturing corporations, with total assets of over \$1 billion each, owned 32.8 percent of the assets of all manufacturing corporations and took in 44.3 percent of the profits after taxes.

408 Corporations

Including the top 41, there were 408 U.S. manufacturing corporations noted with assets of over \$100 millions. They owned 66.6 percent of all assets of manufacturing corporations in the first quarter of 1965 and took in 73.9 percent of all profits.

In arguing that this centralization of profits represented a tendency, Patman quoted Congressman Paul Dixon, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission: "Whereas in 1950 the 100 largest corporations held 38.6 percent of all manufacturing assets . . . by 1962 they held 45 percent."

The sale of stocks to more and more people, at first glance, looks like decentralization of corporate control. But it turns out to be a process that has exactly the opposite effect. The sale of huge quantities of stock on the market actually serves as one means for



Of course this is People's Capitalism! We're people, aren't we?

the giant corporations to finance huge expansions.

At the same time, it spreads the ownership of the stock in thinner and thinner layers, meaning that the capitalists themselves need fewer and fewer stocks — percentage-wise — to maintain their control of the companies. This, in turn, enables the big bourgeoisie to extend into wider and wider arenas its influence and control.

If Ferdinand Lundberg's study of "America's Sixty Families" were repeated today, the chances are it would be even more surprising in many respects than it was when he wrote it in 1937. But such a study has not been made, and the "Sixty Families" have increased their vast fortunes in comparative secrecy.

What a new Lundberg study might reveal was at least partially hinted at in a recent Senate debate which involved one part of the fortunes of one of the members of one of the "Sixty Families" — namely Alfred I. du Pont.

Du Pont Estate

At issue in the Senate debate was the Alfred I. du Pont estate in Florida — an estate that will be broken up, by the Bank Holding Company Act Amendments of 1966, into its component industrial and banking parts. This means that the trustees of the estate will have to sell either their bank or industrial holdings within five years.

The estate was founded in 1926, when Alfred du Pont moved from the seat of the Du Pont dynasty in Delaware to Florida to "retire." He died in 1935, at a time when the Du Pont family collectively owned about 25 percent of General Motors through the family company, E. I. du Pont de Nemours.

In Florida, Alfred du Pont maintained three-quarters of his fortunes in the Du Pont Company. Subsequently, federal law separated the Du Pont family's shares of Du Pont and General Motors. The remaining quarter of his money was spent on Florida.

When he died, Du Pont had acquired eight Florida banks; the St. Joe Paper Company, with 300,000 acres of timberland in Northwest Florida; and immense amounts of valuable Florida real estate. Almost 30 years later, in the Feb. 23, 1964, issue of the *Miami Herald*, James Russell estimated what this estate had grown to.

It was worth well over one billion dollars. There were 445,000 shares of General Motors stock and 764,000 shares of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, with a market value at the time of \$230 million. The St. Joe Paper Co. now owned a

million acres, comprising virtually all the timberland in 10 counties and much other land in Georgia and Florida.

Further, the St. Joe Paper Co. had picked up a rather notorious subsidiary — the Florida East Coast Railway Co. Workers of this line have been on strike since 1962. In fact, even the scabs have gone on strike — when they found themselves scabbing 12 hours a day, six or seven days a week. (*Congressional Record* pp. 11804 ff.)

Alfred du Pont had bequeathed the income from his estate to his wife. In 1936, the estate paid Mrs. du Pont \$2,316,797.77. In 1965, it paid her \$10,561,519.35. The poor dear collected only \$119,293,010.91 from her beloved's bequest in 30 years. Arguing for lengthening the time in which the estate could stay intact, Southern Senators pointed out that Mrs. du Pont had given millions in charity. She had. Exactly 12 percent.

The example of this single estate — a fraction of the Du Pont family fortune — illustrate the dispersion of the interests of the American ruling class as well as the growth of its fortunes. The St. Joe Paper Co.'s Florida East Coast Railway is not one of the major U.S. corporations. But it was a major target of the Florida du Pont family — and it was the railroad that was the point of the Senate debate.

No one expected the Du Pont trustees to give up \$800 million worth of banking interests to hold onto less than \$100 million worth of railroads. Thus it would be the railroad that the estate will sell as a result of the Bank Act Amendment — in the five years stipulated by the law, as opposed to the 12 years which the family desired. And it was for the right of holding onto this railroad for an additional seven years that the Du Ponts lined up over 30 U.S. Senators.

No Classes?

"People's capitalism" is the expression that is sometimes given to the argument that the "people's" ownership of stocks leads to the end of a class-divided society. In these two articles, we have pointed out that although it is true that more and more Americans own stocks, there is no evidence that they are gaining control of the corporations or receiving the income benefits that come with such control.

The actual control of the large corporations, and through these, many of the smaller corporations, resides in the hands of a tiny fraction of the American people whose real wealth is vast and well concealed. It staggers the

imagination to think of a situation where one single individual may receive an income from a dead relation amounting to over \$10 million in a single year, when there are 30 million individuals in this country living in families whose total incomes are less than \$3,000 a year.

But that is the case. And it is not the mere fact of inequality in incomes that makes the difference; it is first and foremost a question of control. In the four corporations that were used as examples in these two articles — General Motors, Standard Oil, the Du Pont Co., and ALCOA, 934,225 Americans were employed in 1964.

Almost one million Americans worked for the handful of millionaires we have been discussing. If you went in detail down through the network of control that the capitalists enjoy, either through direct ownership or through subsidiaries, you would find out that not just several million workers, but the vast majority of workers work for the tiny group of families which controls the nation's production.

That is what we mean by a class society. It is one divided into owners and workers. And the gap between them — measured in income and control — is huge. It is not fading away with time; it is increasing.

Canada Labor Party Leader Scores U.S. Role in Vietnam

By Carole Oleniuk

REGINA, Canada — T.C. Douglas, head of the New Democratic Party, attacked the Canadian government's "supine submissiveness" to Washington on the Vietnam war question in a speech recently. The NDP is Canada's labor party, and now has 21 seats in the House of Commons and receives about 18 percent of the vote. Douglas called upon all Canadians to join the protests against the war, and said that all NDP members of parliament would help build sentiment against the war.

In a brief history of the war, Douglas outlined some of the lies

used by the U.S. to justify its aggression in Vietnam. He said that after the Geneva Accords, the Vietnamese army agreed to withdraw to the north and the French to the south. The French were given two years to withdraw completely from the country, after which there were supposed to be free elections. During this time, he said, the United States installed a puppet government under Diem. Diem took the land away from the peasants and said there would be no election.

Puppet Government

"The United States says it was invited into south Vietnam by the south," the NDP head explained. "This is like saying Edgar Bergen was invited to dinner by Charlie McCarthy."

"All the people of Vietnam want is to run their own affairs," he continued. "There can be no peace in Vietnam unless they are given the right to govern themselves."

Douglas said the National Liberation Front is supported by the majority of the population. He dismissed the "so-called aggression from north Vietnam" as a completely fallacious charge. The war flows from the policy of the U.S. State Department, he said, of "building an encirclement around mainland China . . . If this continues, it could escalate into a major war . . . What we are talking about is the future survival of all mankind."

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Mississippi News

Sunflower, Miss.
The Justice Department has filed a suit to integrate all schools. We are ready to help push this and enforce the rest that will have to be done. We have 10 children in Doddsville, 42 in Sunflower; we also have them ready in Moorhead and Indianola.

In case school does not re-open here in the county, we are planning on having a Freedom School. In our school, we will have history, English and arithmetic. We are also trying to get a setup for the Sunflower County Improvement Association. Our community center is now halfway completed. In the daytime, early in the morning, we will have a Day Care Center there, and in the evening we will have a Freedom School class. At night, we will have Adult Education classes.

The Sunflower County Improvement Association is tax-exempted. So you can make out a check to the Sunflower County Improvement Association, and it will be tax deductible.

Allen Herman, a Negro, was arrested for burning the Freedom School in March, 1965, in Indianola, Miss. Mr. Herman was brought back from Chicago, thrown in jail in Indianola. They have beaten him three times and will not let him out on bail. So our lawyer went down to see about getting him out on bail. We were told that he was beaten and forced to sign a confession that he did burn the Freedom School. Some of the people feel that this man, Herman, may have some connection with, or know something about the burning of the Indianola Freedom School. This is why some of the people feel that if they will let him out, he might tell the whole story. He did send a letter out on Aug. 14, saying that if the civil rights workers get him out of jail, he would tell the whole story.

Otis Brown, Jr., President
Betty Jean Humphries, Secretary
Sunflower County
Improvement Association
P.O. Box 398, Sunflower, Miss.

From a Bigot

Brooklyn, N.Y.
In your coverage of the anti-Negro demonstrations in Chicago and East New York, you revealed

in your own way, a bias that was just as pronounced as a New York Daily News editorial.

Picturing the whites as bestial, mindless creatures and Negroes as upright, martyred spirits was terribly slanted and unfair as is all reportage that fails to give the other side of the story.

Three times in the past five years, I have seen the results of Negro domination in a once-white neighborhood. Virtually overnight, decay sets in with exact duplication. Shopping centers turn into ghost towns. First-rate stores yield to shoddy discount joints. Libraries close down. Liquor stores and bars sprout all over the place.

Crime rates zoom, schools decay both physically and intellectually, even though the new population enjoys the same facilities and personnel that was granted their predecessor.

I am not a flag-waver. I realize our society is hideous in many aspects. But I can do nothing to improve the situation. I refuse to be the victim of its consequences.

Allen Paul

[If Mr. Paul wants to live in a "better" neighborhood with foul-mouthed racists, that's his privilege. But the black people of this country have the same right as anyone else to live in a home of their own choosing. They are determined to exercise that right, and they will not be prevented from doing so by rock-hurling, swastika-bearing gangs or by intellectual apologists for those gangs. Editor.]

Those German Generals

Safety Harbor, Fla.

In all the press comment about the Bundeswehr generals, who resigned rather than tolerate unions in the West German army, there has been not one syllable about the Nazi past of this precious pair. Not even in the Sunday New York Times. Yet the following items, quoted from the authoritative "Brown Book" issued by the German Democratic Republic, must surely have been available to the news media:

"Trettner, Heinz: After Generals Heusinger and Foertsch, a convicted war criminal stands once more at the head of the Bonn Bundeswehr — former Hitler General Heinz Trettner . . .

"Trettner was one of the first volunteers for the Fascist 'Condor Legion' which Hitler sent, in violation of international law, to support General Franco's coup d'état against the young Spanish Republic. . . He was leader of fighter squadron 88 which bombed

the peaceful Basque country towns of Durango and Guernica . . . The result of these terror raids against the civilian population was . . . in Durango 248, including 14 nuns and a priest, in Guernica 1,654 dead and 889 wounded . . .

"At the beginning of 1938, Trettner continued his training and became senior staff officer of the Seventh Air (paratroop) Division . . . The first major assignment came on May 10, 1940, with the invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg . . . After the bombardment of Rotterdam had been announced, the city commandant decided in the interests of the helpless population . . . to open negotiations on May 14, 1940. A cease-fire had been agreed upon for the duration of the negotiations. Trettner was fully informed about these events . . . Despite this, the bombing of Rotterdam began (the same day) at 3 p.m. Eight hundred and seventy-four were killed, more than 2,000 wounded and 78,000 made homeless . . .

"Pape, Günther: before 1945, major general, commander of the Feldherrnhalle tank division, de-

Thought for the Week

"SAIGON . . . here in this land full of U.S. servicemen, auto salesmen abound. They offer bargain rates and easy-to-get loans for the cars, which are delivered on the serviceman's return to the U.S. Each day, the salesmen sell more than 15 cars — and each day, they check the killed-in-action rolls to see which customers won't be able to take delivery." — The Wall Street Journal.

corated with oak leaves by Hitler for his ruthless actions in the Soviet Union. After 1945, major general, commander of the third military district."

This is not to say that the generals appointed by the Bonn Defense Minister to succeed these arrogant Nazis are any different. But what I have quoted above suffices to give the picture of the principal ally of the U.S.

Dr. Bernard Raymund

Fascism

Santa Cruz, Calif.

Strange, that everybody hasn't found out what fascism is and does. It is really only imperialism at the point of a gun. Capitalism's only "saviour" — for a period of time — is fascism.

H. C. B.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Living End — Explaining why doctors are jacking up their fees even higher since Medicare came in, an AMA spokesman said: "This Robin Hood idea is going out the window."

Two Views — An editorial in the Tampa, Fla., Tribune on the recent HUAC hearing saw the "ugly face of treason" raising its head and agreed with Rep. Joe Pool that the hearing proved the antiwar movement is led by "hard core communists." But the St. Petersburg Times declared editorially: "HUAC presented a perfect demonstration of why it should be abolished."

A Previous Great Society — A history book currently used by 11th and 12th grade students in Virginia offers this description of slavery: "The slave enjoyed what might be called comprehensive social security. Generally speaking, his food was plentiful, his clothing adequate, his cabin warm, his health protected, his leisure carefree. He did not have to worry about hard times, unemployment or old age."

Curb on Free Enterprise — One of Germany's biggest tourist attractions has been shut down. The town of Berchtesgaden has sealed off the door to the underground bunker at Hitler's mountain retreat there. The entrance to the bunker was on the property of a hotel which did a brisk business charging a 25-cent entrance fee. Critics argued that it suggested the town was cashing in on Hitler's memory.

Those "International Jewish Bankers" — A survey by the American Jewish Committee established that, of 632 top executives in the country's 50 leading banks, only eight were Jewish. Bank executives interviewed denied anti-semitism. One said Jews simply don't go into banking because they are "inclined toward wheeling and dealing and impatient with the slow advancement of a typical banking career." Another "non-prejudiced" banker said: "Banking does not appeal to Jews because they are too anxious to get ahead and make substantial money."

Materialist Interpretation of History — Last week, we reported that William Benton, U.S. delegate to UNESCO, strongly feels we should teach all the foreigners in the world to speak English because this would "liberate man's

mind from ignorance." We forgot to report that Mr. Benton heads the corporation that peddles the Encyclopedia Britannica.

The American Way — The Lorillard Tobacco Company will invest a reported \$2 million promoting its filter tip cigarette, "True." The campaign will be based on the finding of a New York cancer research institute that True was the most effective filter tip cigarette in screening out tars and nicotine. What the ads won't mention is that the institute found that three non-filter cigarettes were more effective than any of the filtered ones in protecting the smoker from lung cancer and other diseases associated with smoking.

Firm Political Grasp — If Newsweek is correct, James Meredith grasps one of the essentials of major party politics. The magazine reports that he is considering running for public office and has "recently started to exercise with a rubber ball to strengthen his grip for handshaking."

Tough-Situation Dep't — Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron Koota complained bitterly that there has been a 40 percent increase in the number of suspects refusing to make statements to Brooklyn au-

thorities since the Supreme Court ruling limiting the use of confessions. Koota is the man who has stubbornly insisted on continuing the prosecution of George Whitmore, the Negro youth who, in an all-night grilling session, confessed to three murders and an attempted rape. It has since been conceded that one of the murder "confessions" was beaten out of Whitmore, yet Koota has refused to admit the other two are obviously equally invalid.

Socialized Medicine, Anyone? — A 10-day stay in a semi-private room in a New York voluntary hospital now costs an average of \$841.90. Five years ago it was \$560. By next year it is expected to be up to \$1,000. The claimed reason for the swift boosts is "increased" labor costs. But hospital workers remain badly underpaid. A much more cogent reason is the widespread use of such hospital plans as Blue Cross. With the collusion of Blue Cross officials, the hospitals keep hiking their fees and Blue Cross simply boosts its rates to subscribers.

Up, up and up — Milk prices in New York and New Jersey are scheduled to jump again, according to the New York-New Jersey Milk Marketing Administrator.

—Harry Ring

Announcing The

Fall 1966

International Socialist Review

Featuring Joseph Hansen on the roots of U.S. counter-revolutionary strategy in Vietnam; George Novack on the political crisis in China; Ernest Germain on current developments in the USSR; Franz J. T. Lee on Bantu education in South Africa; a 1933 open letter by Leon Trotsky to revolutionaries in South Africa; a 1964-66 index.

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UN Committee to Hear S. Africa Rights Fighter

Franz J. T. Lee, the young South African freedom fighter who is presently touring this country for the Alexander Defense Committee, has been invited to testify before the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, Sept. 13. Announcement of the UN invitation was made simultaneously with the announcement of Lee's tour schedule in this country.

Franz Lee is a close friend of Dr. Neville Alexander, the revolutionary South African high school teacher who is presently serving a ten-year prison sentence in the notorious Robben Island concentration camp. Alexander was sentenced along with 10 other young men and women after a prolonged defense attempt in 1964.

Lee had been saved this fate by the fact that he had been granted a scholarship to study in Germany and was working on his Ph.D. degree in that country at the time his compatriots were arrested in South Africa.

When the word reached Lee about the arrests, he began to work to build a defense committee in Germany to raise funds for the legal expenses of the trial and

for the support of the families of the "Alexander 11" who were left destitute by the arrests. Soon afterwards, similar committees were set up in England, Canada and the United States.

Franz Lee was born in 1938 of poor Coloured parents in the north-eastern part of Cape Province, South Africa, not far from the Transkei "peasant reserve." The extreme poverty of Lee's family — three of his five brothers and sisters died before they were one year old — forced him as a young boy to go to work on white-owned farms and in white-owned factories.

While working, Lee completed a correspondence course, fulfilling university entrance requirements, and in 1959 he moved to Cape-town. After finding work as a clerk, Lee became active in the Capetown freedom movement. During the witch-hunts following Sharpeville in 1960, however, he was fired as a "security-risk" and blacklisted. For the next two years, he was unable to get a job of any sort.

It was during this time, with the help of contributions from fellow members of the Unity Movement of South Africa, that Lee was able to continue his education by correspondence from the University of South Africa, studying for a combined philosophy and law degree.

In 1962, Lee joined the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa, the political party of which Alexander was also a member. APDUSA is dedicated to a program of complete freedom for the oppressed African peoples. Later the same year, before Alexander's arrest, Lee received his German scholarship.

The Alexander Defense Committee in New York issued the following tentative schedule for the first section of Lee's tour: Seattle, Aug. 31-Sept. 1; Bay Area, Sept. 2-7; Los Angeles, Sept. 9-12; Jacksonville, Fla., Sept. 14, and Gainesville, Sept. 15; St. Louis, Sept. 18-19; and Minneapolis, Sept. 21-23.



Photo by Finer

Franz J. T. Lee

U of Pennsylvania Retreats On Germ Warfare Project

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 6 — Dr. Gaylord Harnwell, president of the University of Pennsylvania, announced on Sept. 4 that the university was dropping classified research for the government. He also said that he was closing down the notorious Institute for Cooperative Research. The ICR has become a target of the antiwar movement in Philadelphia because of its function of research into chemical and biological weapons for use in Vietnam and elsewhere. But Harnwell's announcement was not all that it appeared to be from press reports.

The Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam issued the following statement today: "The recent announcement by President Harnwell of the closing of the Institute for Cooperative Research is misleading and is a cynical attempt to cloud the issues. By transferring the work of the former ICR to the office of the university provost, the university has simply altered the chain of command for its work in biological and chemical warfare research.

"However, it should be noted that the only reason why the change in name was made was because of the persistent pressure placed upon the university by the U of P CEVW and the Philadelphia Area CEVW. Forcing the uni-

versity to shift its ground on the ICR is a victory for the antiwar movement which must be carried beyond a mere 'changing of hats,' to the total cessation of biological and chemical warfare research on the campus or under university offices or with university connivance.

Biological Warfare

"The issue is not secrecy. It is no secret that such research is being conducted at the U of P. The issue is the research itself. Such research is aimed at producing biological and chemical warfare weaponry for use against the people of Vietnam and in future wars against people striving for self-determination."

The facts about the kind of "work" the ICR was doing were unearthed by Robin Martin, a leader of the Philadelphia antiwar movement. Protests against this research, which includes development of diseases in crops such as rice, have become increasingly vocal on the campus, and included members of the faculty who objected to working on a campus where such grizzly Nazi-type research was being conducted. The Philadelphia Area CEVW has published a pamphlet on the ICR. It may be obtained for 50¢ by writing the committee at: 228 Buckingham Pl., Philadelphia, Pa.



FREE ELECTIONS IN SO. VIETNAM

Big Farm Union Victory In Election at DiGiorgio's

By Gordon Bailey

Farm workers employed by DiGiorgio, California's largest grower, have voted overwhelmingly for union organization in the first bargaining election ever held on a California farm. Out of 1,380 ballots cast, only 19 votes were for no union representation.

The workers were given a choice between the newly-chartered AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, led by Cesar Chavez; the independent Teamsters Union; or no union. The field workers voted 530 for Chavez' union, and 331 for the Teamsters. The shed workers, who pack the produce after it is harvested, were polled on a separate ballot. They voted 94 for the Teamsters and 43 for the AFL-CIO.

This historic election is a great victory for Cesar Chavez and the field workers who have battled the growers, the cops and the state government for over a year. For the past few months, they have also had to defend themselves against the Teamsters Union which has joined the employers in conducting the worst union-raiding, strike-breaking campaign seen in recent California history.

The Teamsters are not new to California agriculture, and they have not always played the scabby role they do today. They have held contracts with some food processors covering the shed workers for several years. But they have not bothered to organize the lower-paid field hands — until now, when they came in at the invitation of DiGiorgio and other big growers.

The growers invited the Teamsters in when they saw that the organization of farm workers could not be stopped. They preferred to try to sign sweetheart agreements with a solid "business union." They saw a concrete example of the Teamsters' "reasonableness" when they signed a contract five years ago with the biggest lettuce grower, setting field wages at \$1.12 an hour.

Last June, an attempt was made to railroad the DiGiorgio workers into the Teamsters Union in an election from which all strikers were excluded, and which

Chavez's National Farm Workers Association boycotted as rigged. DiGiorgio's foremen trucked the workers to the polls and all but marked their ballots for them. The Teamsters won this "election," but a fact-finding board appointed by Governor Brown recommended that it be declared null and void.

The stage was now set for a real test of strength, culminating in the election Aug. 30. The Teamsters and growers, as well as Delano city officials, pulled out all stops in their red-baiting of the NFWA.

As election day neared, it looked to many that the Teamsters would win. Powerful forces were on their side, and the year-long strike of the grape workers was not halting work in the fields. Heavy recruitment of desperate workers in Texas and other depressed agricultural areas had replaced many who had walked off the job.

However, elements of this union struggle spread far beyond the point of production, clear to the office of Governor Brown and the Board Room of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. Meany became alarmed at the prospect of a Teamsters monopoly among farm workers, and granted a charter to the NFWA, uniting it with the already existing Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. Brown, who had been deaf to all pleas from the farm workers for a year, surprised many by sending Cesar Chavez a message of support on the eve of the election. It is thought that the large Mexican-American vote in California may have influenced the governor who is in a fight for his political life this year.

The Mexican American is the key to the organization of Farm Labor in the South West and much of the nation. Nearly all California farm workers are Mexican-Americans, although there are important areas comprised of Filipinos. Cesar Chavez found the key to the organization of the Mexican-American worker when he formed his Association around the total life of the Mexican-American, both on the farm and in his community. Credit unions, classes and legal-aid facilities were established. Above all, his organization

instilled a pride in the Mexican heritage and implanted a desire to fight for full rights as citizens.

DiGiorgio has said he will bargain with both unions; but it will be hard bargaining. DiGiorgio is the biggest employer of farm labor in California, and the terms reached will set a pattern for the rest of the industry. But there are plenty of growers who will resist organization by a militant union led by Cesar Chavez. Possibly the growers hope that a restraining influence will be exerted by the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who granted Chavez a charter. This may be attempted.

But experience has proven that the conservative union tactics of the Meany's and Reuther's will never arouse the farm workers to struggle. Only Chavez' total approach to the downtrodden Mexican-Americans and their needs, his spirit of a social crusade and his enlistment of support from wide circles of labor, youth and liberals in the cities, can get results.

Saigon Desertions Still Rising

Statistics released Aug. 29 in Saigon show a sharp rise in the number of desertions from the Saigon regime's armed forces. In the first half of 1966, some 67,000 deserted. If this rate keeps up, 134,000 will have deserted by the end of 1966. This compares with 113,000 in 1965. At present, the armed forces number 750,000 men. Thus, about one in seven can be expected to desert.

Why this increase in desertions if things are going as well as Johnson makes out? First of all, the unpopularity of Saigon's cause continues to mount with the immense destruction and slaughter. Secondly, there is a growing feeling that the Americans have taken over — so let them do the fighting, too.